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## Congressional Record S. 346 - Senator Mansfield on Face the Nation

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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# SENATOR MANSFIELD APPEARS ON FACE THE NATION PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on last Sunday, January 24, I appeared on the CBS network in the "Face the Nation" program. The three nimble correspondents who appeared with me, George Herman, CBS News, Samuel Shaffer, Newsweek, and Bruce Morton, posed a great number of questions on current issues and other matters of public interest which I tried to answer as best I could within the brief period of the interview.

During the course of the program, I made the comment that the rate of inflation during 1970 was 7 percent. The figure was in error. It should have been stated at about 5 percent. I regret this error. Otherwise, I will stand on what was said during the half hour and I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of the meeting be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## FACE THE NATION

(As broadcast over the CBS television network and the CBS radio network, January 24, 1971, Washington, D.C.)

Guest: Senator MIKE MANSFIELD (Democrat, Montana) Senate majority leader.

Reporters: George Herman, CBS News; Samuel Shaffer, Newsweek; and Bruce Morton, CBS News.

Producers: Sylvia Westerman and Prentiss Childs.

GEORGE HERMAN. Senator Mansfield, President Nixon has proposed a package of governmental changes which he says amount to a new American revolution. Do you think by election day of 1972, this new American revolution will be a fact of politics, or will it be an issue?

Senator MANSFIELD. It could be both. I anticipate that it may be partially completed by that time, but it's so far-sweeping, so far-reaching, that it's going to take more than one session of Congress to face up to that responsibility.

ANNOUNCER. From CBS Washington, Face the Nation, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana. Senator Mansfield will be questioned by CBS News correspondent Bruce Morton, Samuel Shaffer, Chief Congressional correspondent of Newsweek Magazine, and CBS News correspondent George Herman.

GEORGE HERMAN. Senator Mansfield, some of the issues, the changes proposed by President Nixon in this new American revolution, seem to me likely to curtail some of the responsibilities and powers of Congress. Will Congress give up those powers?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I don't think so, because that is one of the things that we'll have to consider in the consideration of the proposals being made by the President. And if, for example, under the revenue sharing plan you give too much to states with no responsibilities attached, then it means you're creating a situation which is quite dangerous, in my opinion.

SAMUEL SHAFFER. Senator Mansfield, I want to use a technical term, categorical grants, because we're going to hear those two words a lot in the next year or two. Now I'm speaking now of specifically authorized programs in health, education and so forth. Now do you think that Congress is about to turn over these billions to the states without any strings?—because that would mean the ending of categorical grants.

Senator MANSFIELD. That's right. That's

why the legislation has to be considered most carefully. We have no specifics, no details. We want to be very sure what we're going into, and the Congress will take its time and make certain that it does not relinquish its power, even though it recognizes the needs of the states and the cities.

BRUCE MORTON. I suppose that same question could be asked about the President's government reorganization plan, which would certainly involve some shifting in congressional committees, the giving up of power by at least some committee chairmen. That historically has not happened very frequently on the Hill. Is it likely to with this?

Senator MANSFIELD. It very well could, because in this question of reorganization of cabinet departments and the like, it means that you're going to have a combination of lobbies, I think, the like of which the Congress and the nation has not seen, each trying to protect its own respective preserve.

MORTON. Well, so you come out, then, probably with no change, if there is all this pressure?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, there will be all that pressure, but I hope we'll come out with some change, because there is a need to do what the President has advocated, but there has to be a best way found to do it.

HERMAN. A need to do what? Which of the things that the President has advocated?

Senator MANSFIELD. All of the things which he's advocated, I think, are steps in the right direction, and they should be given the most serious consideration by the Congress, because the times are of such a nature that we are becoming a deficit-spending nation. The conditions in the states and the cities are—is becoming quite grave, and so something must be done; and the President has at least stepped out—offered proposals which should be given every consideration.

SHAFFER. Senator, isn't revenue sharing based upon the idea that local communities are better equipped to handle this money? Do you think that they are?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I do not. I think the federal government is better equipped. And getting back to the question of funds being distributed to states and localities, it would appear to me that the possibility for greater waste and inefficiency and ineffectiveness would result.

MORTON. Is it fair to say that if there's a consensus for any of these things—reorganization, revenue sharing and so on—that perhaps there's more agreement over the need to reform welfare than anything else?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, that's a fair statement, though there are questions about the President's proposal which must be answered, and hopefully, it may have come down this year, or it may come down this year in—with some differences.

MORTON. What sort of difference would you be looking for?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, just to make sure that—that there is better administration; for example, fewer personnel, greater application of funds to the people who are in need, a greater desire on the part of people to contribute towards their own welfare and less dependence on the government, and less in the number of dynasties which welfare unfortunately has created in a familiar sense down through the decades.

SHAFFER. Senator, you've spoken about reform. How about Congress reforming itself? You yourself on the floor of the Senate, toward the end of the last session, expressed concern about the congressional image, or the senatorial image I think was what you said. What are you going to do about the much-criticized seniority system and the filibuster rule?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, we're in need of reform, no question about that. The filibuster rule will be taken up, and I have better hopes this year than previously that we might be able to do something in bring-

ing about a reduction from two-thirds of those present and voting to three-fifths. As far as the seniority system is concerned, I can give you no information at this time. It will be brought up by the Democrats at their caucus next Tuesday. We'll have to see what happens then. There is no question but the corrections, reforms could be made and should be made, and if they're reasonable I'll be for them.

SHAFFER. Well, I was just going to say, what do you feel about the seniority system? You're one of the beneficiaries—

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I have a lot of seniority.

SHAFFER. I know. But how do you feel about it?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think it could be changed somewhat. How, though, I do not know, but I do not think we should rush into it on a happenstance basis because strangely enough, the seniority system, by and large down through the history of the republic, has worked, all things considered, effectively and well.

HERMAN. Well then, how about the filibuster problem? Traditionally when you start out to tackle the filibuster, what you get is a filibuster against a change in the rules. Isn't the Senate going to begin with a filibuster this term?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, a mini filibuster to start with, then we'll see what happens. And I would point out that when we use the word filibuster we should not apply it just to the south alone, because the liberals are becoming pretty effective in using the filibuster, especially toward the end of a session.

MORTON. Why are you more optimistic this time? Are you going to have the same people talking against change who've been there before?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think the way things went at the end of the last session, will be conducive to a possible change, and I think also that some members who have been adamant on the question of cloture are showing signs of softening at this time; at least that's the results I see on the basis of conversations with various members from different parts of the country.

HERMAN. Is that a regional thing, Senator?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, it is from various parts of the country.

HERMAN. What accounts for it?

Senator MANSFIELD. Maybe a recognition of the fact that times have changed, that we spend too much time on certain subjects, and that the main subjects on which most of the filibuster in the years past had been spent have now become less significant.

HERMAN. Time is not the only thing that's changed. You now have a new Democratic whip. Does the election of Senator Byrd indicate that the Senate is—the Senate Democrats are moving to the right?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, not at all. I think that the Senate Democrats will operate in the future as they have in the past. And in Senator Byrd we have a first class floor technician, and the business will be continued and furthered.

HERMAN. You have not always agreed with him. I remember that when the Byrd-Griffin proposal on Cambodia came up, you said it was another Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. You thoroughly disagreed with it. Will you have any trouble working with a man with whom you occasionally thoroughly disagree?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, no, not at all. I'll have no trouble whatsoever; and furthermore, there isn't a senator on the floor that I haven't disagreed with at some time or another. So that's part of the job.

MORTON. Senator, you said that ideology wasn't the issue in the Byrd-Kennedy race. So what was? Why do you think Senator Byrd won?



Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I don't know. It came as a surprise to me, to be frank about it. I thought it would be much closer, and the only thing I can figure is that Senator Byrd paid a great deal of attention to the needs of the Senate and senators, and maybe this was helpful.

SHAFFER. Does this end Senator Kennedy's chances for the presidency in 1972 or in any of the subsequent presidential years?

Senator MANSFIELD. I don't think he was ever seriously a contender for 1972, and that was his own wish. But Senator Kennedy is a young man, an effective man, an efficient senator, and he has a long way to go. He will be heard from in the years to come.

SHAFFER. I'd like to ask you another question, if I may, about the President's speech. He spoke about the desire to restore and enhance our natural environment. He said nothing about the SST. What do you think's going to happen on the SST? Congress has got to act again after March 30.

Senator MANSFIELD. That's right and I imagine that we'll probably get to it about March the 15th, and my guess is that the situation will remain as it has been in the Senate, that the Senate will be opposed to the SST. What will happen in the House is anybody's guess.

MORTON. Senator, you were talking about Senator Kennedy's presidential prospects a minute ago. You said in July of last year to a group of reporters here, that the Democrats have not yet come forward with a candidate of sufficient stature to defeat Richard Nixon. Is that still true?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I would say since that time Senator Muskie has made great strides, has become more recognizable throughout the country, and is now the front runner as far as the Democratic nomination is concerned, as of now.

HERMAN. How about Senator McGovern? Senator MANSFIELD. He has just entered the race. He will come up; he will be a contender to consider. But I would say he is trailing at the moment.

MORTON. You said at that same breakfast that Senator Muskie was the best man we have, but that he needed to develop charm and charisma. Do you find him more charming these days?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, he's always been charming. What I really meant was that he had to become more known—more recognizable, get around the country, visit the states he hadn't been in. And since that time, he's done that.

SHAFFER. Senator, since we're on politics, tell me, in your judgment, will this nomination be decided in the primaries, or will it go right up to the convention? Will it be brokered?

Senator MANSFIELD. Too far ahead.

HERMAN. You also said—to milk that June or July news conference a little further—you also said at that time that you believed President Nixon's promise to be out of Viet Nam by the end of his term. Presumably that meant by 1972. Do you still think that we will be out of Viet Nam by 1972?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I still think that the President intends to do all he can to get out of Viet Nam by the end of 1972, and so far he's kept up with his promises of withdrawal, even exceeded them in some instances. But now you have other difficulties arising, and I think that those troubles may well increase as the time decreases.

HERMAN. By other troubles you mean Cambodia?

Senator MANSFIELD. I mean Cambodia, Laos.

HERMAN. Well now, what is your position on the moves that the administration has made to give air support to the Cambodians in recent weeks?

Senator MANSFIELD. I'm not in favor of them. I'm more interested in the release of

American prisoners of war and the withdrawal of American troops, and not in the interests of another country.

HERMAN. Do you feel that this violated what the administration—?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, at the best I can say, it draws a very fine line. I think it goes contrary to the intent and the spirit of Cooper-Church.

MORTON. Both senators have urged new hearings by the Foreign Relations Committee, with an eye presumably to some new legislative restriction on U.S. involvement in Cambodia. Would you support the hearings, and would you support some more language to redefine the U.S. role there?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, if necessary. And if the full committee doesn't hold hearings, there's no reason why the Subcommittee on Asian Affairs, which I happen to be the chairman of, will not hold hearings.

SHAFFER. Senator, what can we really do about the expansion of that war effort in Cambodia?

Senator MANSFIELD. Not a great deal—

SHAFFER. By we, I mean Congress or the Senate.

Senator MANSFIELD. Not a great deal at the present time, because the Senate has made its decision known. It certainly is being heard down in the administration at the present time. I understand that Secretary Rogers is meeting with various senators from time to time to explain the situation. I have received an invitation which I'd like to accept, but unfortunately I've been engaged in organizational affairs in the Senate and have been unable to do so.

SHAFFER. Well, let me ask you this, then. Senator McGovern, you know, has announced his intention of reintroducing his proposal which was defeated last June 30, I think, to set a specific timetable for the funding of our combat activities in Indochina. I think he would cut off all funds for combat troops as of December 31. Will you support that proposal or any time-certain proposal?

Senator MANSFIELD. December 31 this year?

SHAFFER. That's right.

Senator MANSFIELD. It's an impossibility. I wish it could be done even before that time. That's one of the difficulties you have with a time limit, but I did vote for the McGovern-Hatfield amendment. I would vote for it again and it would have a time limitation.

HERMAN. Senator, do you think the administration has changed its own position on Cambodia? I noticed, for example, last June Secretary Rogers said on this program that if the government of Cambodia came into Communist hands, it would be an unfavorable development, but not unacceptable in the sense that they'd use American forces to try to keep Cambodia out of Communist hands. Do you think they are now shifting away from that position?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, I do, and probably because of the force of circumstances. But I would recall to you that on June the 30th the President, in his statement on our withdrawal from Cambodia, said there would be no logistic or air support for South Vietnamese troops.

HERMAN. But now there is.

Senator MANSFIELD. Now there is.

HERMAN. But Secretary Laird, as you know, says that this is not a change in policy.

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, it certainly is more than a change in semantics.

MORTON. Can Congress really do anything about that? It's an awfully tedious process to try to write lines into appropriations bills, as was done last year.

Senator MANSFIELD. I think it can, and I think one of the good things which the Senate did in the last Congress was to stand up on its hind feet for a change, bring about the passage of the National Commitments Resolution, the passage of the Cooper-

Church Resolution, and in that way try to bring about a restoration of the equality which should exist between the executive and the legislative branches in the field of foreign policy.

MORTON. Would you now vote for language which would restrict or would prohibit the use of American air power to support the Cambodian government or South Vietnamese troops in Cambodia?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would.

SHAFFER. Senator, you speak of Congress standing up on its hind feet. Do you think that something like the McGovern time-certain resolution would pass this time? It was pretty badly beaten last time.

Senator MANSFIELD. That's right. But then, if you don't succeed at first, the saying is try and try again. I would rather see it done privately, without the date being specified, because the administration does have a point in saying that if you do this there will be a certain reaction on the part of North Viet Nam. But the point is this—that can be done both ways, because if we don't do something then our friends in Saigon can continue to use us as they see fit, so we're caught in the middle. So we'd better fish or cut bait.

SHAFFER. On another aspect of foreign policy, Senator, you know, you have long proposed that we cut back on our troop commitments in Europe.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed.

SHAFFER. And Senator Muskie, who had supported you, now says he has second thoughts about it after talking it over with the German leaders. Are you having any second thoughts?

Senator MANSFIELD. None at all. I think that we ought to cut out the fat which we have in Europe, reduce the 525,000 troops, and military dependents who are over there, bring about a cutdown in the number of generals and admirals, do away with some of these headquarters which are piled on headquarters on headquarters, and I would say that we could cut our forces in Europe by 50 per cent. Cut the fat and the 50 per cent remaining would still be just as effective, perhaps more so, than the total now.

SHAFFER. How are you going to do it—by a sense of the Senate resolution as you originally proposed, or by the power of the purse?

Senator MANSFIELD. Either by a sense of the Senate resolution or an amendment to an appropriate bill. And the point—the amendment, the resolution would not call for precipitate reduction, but a substantial reduction on a gradual basis.

HERMAN. How can the Senate stand up on its hind feet, to use the phrase that's been pushed around here a little bit? The President has assured us, the Vice President has assured us, that Mr. Nixon now has a working ideological majority in the Senate.

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, time will tell. This Senate has just gotten underway. We haven't had a chance to draw lines. There will be a desire to cooperate and it'll be my intention, if possible, to keep politics as much as possible out of debate and issues; but only time will tell. My guess would be that the Senate this year would be just about of the same stripe as it was in the last Congress.

MORTON. Senator, one of the other deadlines you're going to face this year involves the draft, which runs out the middle of this year. What do you think ought to be done with it?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think it ought to be abolished. I didn't vote for its extension. I don't intend to vote for its extension. I think we ought to get down to the idea of a volunteer army, which the administration advocates, which the Gates Commission recommended and which a number of senators have fought for.



MORTON. Well, the administration advocates that, but always says at the same time that it's impractical as long as they need an army in Viet Nam.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, but we're withdrawing that army in Viet Nam and we're reducing our forces throughout the world.

HERMAN. Does an all-volunteer army give you no pause, nothing to worry about in view of some of the things we've now heard about the Army spying on civilians, checking up on their politics and their activities? Doesn't the thought of a professional army give you some pause in a democracy?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, the incidents which you've raised do give me pause, great pause, and I'm delighted that Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina is conducting an investigation in to that type of intelligence activity by the uniformed part of our government on civilian personnel. But I think that a volunteer army might best be the answer. There may be bugs, difficulties; I think they can be ironed out. But I think you'll have greater esprit de corps; you'll have greater morale. And I think that while it might cost more in the beginning, it will cost a good deal less in many other ways in the end.

MORTON. What about the argument that you'll get an army of the poor, an army of the black, and you will not get an army with the kind of technical skills that an army needs these days?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I wouldn't think that that would be the case. And furthermore, I would expect the ROTC units to continue at the universities and the colleges and to be able in that fashion to furnish an officer cadre as well as officers being brought up from the ranks. The draft is not the answer, because it's unfair, inequitable; it allows too many people to get out of it and the poor and the blacks are the ones who find it most difficult to get out of the draft.

SHAFFER. Senator, but to be realistic about this, the chairmen of the Armed Services Committee of both houses are against a volunteer army.

Senator MANSFIELD. That's right.

SHAFFER. They want the draft extended, and don't the odds favor extension of the draft at this time?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would say yes, but that doesn't mean we shouldn't try to end it and substitute something more equitable for it.

SHAFFER. And should that happen, what is your position on student deferments, because I think there are a lot of students who are watching this program and are interested in their fate.

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, I think they've been treated more than fairly, and it's because of that in part that you get the poor elements within our population being called up under the draft process. I think if you're going to have a system of draft or universal service, or selective service, that it ought to be equitable, apply fairly to all, and operate on the same basis that it did during the Second World War.

SHAFFER. Then you would end student deferments?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would.

HERMAN. Last summer, when the question of the economy came up in a statement by the President—the state of the economy message—you were sharply critical. You said that all the rhetoric of radiant futures is not going to take away the fact that we're now in a recession. Do you consider that the President's new message, his new policies, show a better understanding, that he is really now grappling with the recession?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, if you're referring to his State of the Union Message, he did not refer to that. Maybe that was in the back of his mind, but questions of unemployment, recession, high interest rates and the like were not brought out. I would anticipate that

that may be mentioned at the time he sends up his budget message to the Congress.

HERMAN. Do you think he is showing greater awareness in his economic policies, in his actions and those of the rest of his government in handling inflation and wage increases?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, I think he's very much aware of it, and I think he finally recognized that it is to the nation's advantage for him to speak to people like big steel when they ask for outrageous increases in their products.

HERMAN. Do you think he is truly grappling within inflation, that it is coming under control, slowing down?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, it's hard to say. It's about 7.1 per cent at the present time. Unemployment is about 6 per cent. But prime interest rates have been going down steadily for over two months, and even the mortgage interest rates are beginning to show a decline. So maybe a turn has taken place; I'm not an economist, I can't tell. But you have to balance that on the one hand against 6 per cent unemployment and 7.1 per cent inflation.

HERMAN. Seven point one per cent yearly inflation at the moment, do you say?

Senator MANSFIELD. That's right.

SHAFFER. Senator, let's try to hit a few specifics that the President touched on, although admittedly the speech wasn't too specific in content. How about revenue sharing? What do you think will happen? Will it pass or not?

Senator MANSFIELD. Hard to say, but it should be—there should be hearings, and if the bill's reported out there should, and as far as the Senate is concerned, there will be debate and consideration one way or the other.

SHAFFER. Welfare reform?

Senator MANSFIELD. Something has to be done. As I've indicated earlier, this may not be the answer, because there are grave questions which must be faced up to. But something has to be done to revise the present system.

SHAFFER. Thirdly, government reorganization? By that I mean reducing twelve cabinet posts to eight—to four, I think it is.

Senator MANSFIELD. An interesting idea. We'll see how the lobbies react to it, and then I'll let you know.

MORTON. Senator, there's one other issue that was left over from last year. The President vetoed a bill which would have limited broadcast campaign spending. Do you foresee a new effort in that direction this year?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, and I would like to see—see any legislation which is being considered apply, if possible, not only to TV and radio, but through some means to the news media. How that can be done, I do not know, because there is a difference in the exercise of the franchise on the one hand and private individual ownership on the other.

MORTON. Would you like to see a limit on total campaign spending?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, both as far as candidates are concerned and parties as well.

SHAFFER. How about tax credits for financing campaign?

Senator MANSFIELD. That's worthwhile. If the federal government can't finance, maybe that's one of the ways in which the slack can be taken up.

HERMAN. The President said, I believe, that there were 35 pieces of unfinished legislation left over from the last Congress.

Senator MANSFIELD. I noticed that.

HERMAN. Do you agree, and how many of them do you think are likely to be finished in this session?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I can't recall 35 pieces of major legislation. If you put in all the dribs and drabs, maybe he could dredge up 35 or 37.

HERMAN. How many would you say?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, I would say maybe 10 or 15 at the most.

HERMAN. Would you include, for example, the amendment for the direct election of the presidency as one of the majors?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, that would be one, and also—

HERMAN. Equal rights for women?

Senator MANSFIELD. I don't know that the administration recommended that, but the welfare bill would be included.

HERMAN. Consumer legislation?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, because we had legislation down there—some which we passed, some which we were ready to pass, but because of administration opposition it was futile to take it up.

HERMAN. Anti-pollution bills?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I was glad to see President Nixon and Senator Muskie get together and on a bipartisan basis advocate control of pollution and protection of the environment.

HERMAN. And trade quotas?

Senator MANSFIELD. Trade quotas? Well, I think the less said about that the better.

HERMAN. Will less be said about it?

Senator MANSFIELD. As far as the House is concerned, Congressman Mills has introduced a bill, I understand. No action has been taken in the Senate as yet. I would hope that something would be done, especially with Japan, to bring about a rectification of the—of the difficulty without having to resort to legislation, because when you go to legislation, then you can expect expansion and the inclusion of other products.

SHAFFER. Senator, in his State of the Union Message, the President said this can be the Congress that helped us end the longest war in the nation's history, and in a way it'll give us a genuine chance for a full generation of peace.

Senator MANSFIELD. We'll be more than happy to meet him more than halfway to bring an end to this war and an era of peace.

SHAFFER. But the question is, how are you going to help us end the longest war in our history?

Senator MANSFIELD. By doing what I've been doing ever since—well, since before the war in Viet Nam started, because I think the war is a tragedy, a mistake. I cannot find any solace in 400–343,000 dead and wounded, well over a hundred billion dollars of our money spent and all these problems at home to face up to.

HERMAN. Who's leading? We have very few seconds—who's leading in the struggle to end the war, the presidency or the Congress?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think we're both working in the same direction. We both have the same objective, and we'll both work together to that end.

HERMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Mansfield, and we'll have a word about next week's guest in a minute.

ANNOUNCER. Today on Face the Nation, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, was interviewed by CBS News correspondent Bruce Morton; Samuel Shaffer, Chief Congressional correspondent of Newsweek Magazine; and CBS News correspondent George Herman.